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## I.—SYNTHESIS DOLIOLORUM DRESSELIANA.

Tria doliola aut tres seriolae quae, verbo Plautino converso (cf. Pseud. 659), doliare homullos, doliunculosve (cf. nomen proprium graecum 'Κοτύλων', n. Latinum 'Catillo') nominaverim, inter se,

ut convenerat esse delicatos,

seriatim, dolose, per aenigmata (scirpos, grypos) versiculos scribentes

reddunt mutua per iocum atque vinum.

Neque illi, qui saepe sepulcra legissent, memorias plane penitusque perdiderant. Quin etiam inter eos unus certe grammaticus videtur fuisse, omnesque scurrae urbani; ille autem qui postremus dicit norma loquendi quasi Paeligna vel potius macaronica utitur. Quam normam haud scio an putem illum e mimis Atellanis scaenicis audisse, nec non potest esse se ipsum partes Atellanas egisse: nisi putare velis eum e Paelignis Romam migrasse.

Nunc vero colloquium ipsum videamus:

Doliunculus Primus loquitur:

1) Ioue[i] sat deiuos qoi med mitat.

Iuuet sat divos qui me mittat.

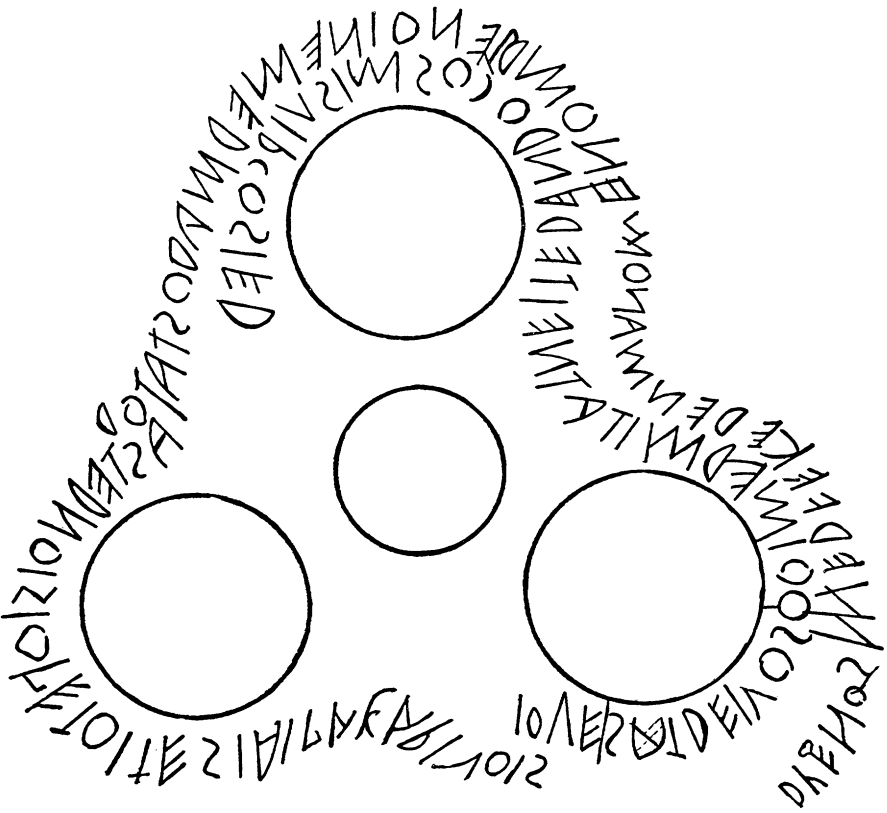
Respondit Doliunculus Secundus, et deos qui cum multibibi tum merobibi essent et sodalem qui tam pusillus esset ludos faciens:

2) nei ted endo cosmis virco sied,

quae verba, re vera per aenigmata ita intellegenda,

a) ni (? ne) in te comis aqua sit (virco = nymphalympha) apertum, ut videntur, sensum et contumelio sum et malitiosum habent,

b) ne in te comis puella sit.



Cui respondet Dol. Prim., qui se sensum aenigmatis (supra per a litteram indicatum) intellegere vult ostendere :

- 3) Duenos med feked en manomeinom

Benus (? Bellus homo) me fecit a) in bonum

vinum, b) in Manium v., c) in *μαίνόμενον* = furem.

Tum Primo iterum Secundus ita respondet ut ostendat se verba inusitata 'Duenos', 'Manom einom' non fugisse, neque se philosophiam nescire :

- 4) Dzenoi ne med mallo <s> [? malvos] statod

Ne <quis> Zeno malus <a> me stato.

Inde illis mutua reddentibus finem facit Doliunculus Tertius, qui Paelignorum rustica ac vasta pronuntiatione vel vero etiam macaronice loquitur :

- 5) ast ednoisi opetoite sjaipa karivois.

at in escis (? escas) optatote (sc. me) sive


in Caristiis (? bellaria).

Haec hactenus.

The above interpretation of the Duenos inscription will appear at a first reading fanciful, perhaps fantastic, but I do not issue it in haste. Neither is it an ironical way of attacking the genuineness of the inscription, though I will confess to some sympathy with Cobet's impatience over the results attained in interpreting this inscription, and Cobet had not seen the now accredited version of Thurneysen. I recognize that the linguistic method of attack is seductive, and I shall have to make use of it presently to defend my own interpretation. But while I believe in an appeal to linguistics where nothing else is available, I can see how impatient a Cobet, who did not believe in the method, must have become over the wide sweep of interpretations already known to him (Mnem. 9, 441), full of syntactical violences and (as it must have seemed to him) morphological mirages.

Of previous interpretations, so far as they have come under my observation, only one has suggested any the least reasonable use for the object on which the inscription is found, and that is Schroeder's suggestion that the object is a cosmetic set. For my own part, I can but think that to know what the object was meant for would go further toward determining the meaning of the legend upon it than a wide comparison with all the cognate languages.

For several years I have not been able to rid myself of the notion that the set of three little vessels—found in a non-sacred locality, with other objects, among them an uninscribed set of four vessels—fastened together to look, roughly speaking, like a caster for oil, vinegar, mustard, had some playful and social purpose. I first thought of an ever so primitive loving-cup, but this notion was dispelled by the consideration of the size and shape of the little *tripot*.

Finally it occurred to me to try to interpret the legend in conformity with the object on which it stood. The object is a group of three tiny clay casks (*dolia*<sup>1</sup>) or barrels (*seriae*), made separately and then put together so as to form a synthesis *dōliolorum* aut *sēriolarum*. Reproductions of the object are fairly numerous (see 'Literature' below, which does not pretend to give an exhaustive list). Now a *dōlium* (Romance also attests *dōlium* or *dollium*) might naturally be chosen to speak a δόλιον τι, a *dolus*, and a *sēria* might, with the same humorous propriety, be chosen for a cryptograph written *sēriatim*, without word division. The position of the inscription is curious, as it winds round the jars, forming a rough serpentine, an outline somewhat suggestive of the curious serpentine of the Pompeian inscription of Sepumius (see Niccolini's *Monum. Pomp.*, pl. 69). The line that I have marked 1, after encircling with a convex curve about two-thirds of *Doliolum Primum*, meanders in a concave curve along the joint binding *Dol. I* with *Doliolum Secundum*, and ends, almost with mathematical precision, at the deepest point in the concave surface. Line 2 proceeds out of the concave and up around *Dol. II*, ending at a point in perfectly symmetrical opposition to the starting point of line 1, the general outline being substantially thus: . How would it have been possible more clearly to hint that the lines belong severally to the individual vessels they encircle? Generally similar, but not so perfectly symmetrical, is the 'curve' of lines 3 and 4, falling below 1 and 2 on a surface much more difficult for the scribe. In the lower serpentine, the division I have made falls tolerably close to the outermost point of the convex curve around *Dol. II*. But the line of 3 and 4 goes further, passing along the concave curve of the joint between *Dol. II* and *Doliolum Tertium*, and

<sup>1</sup>Dessau, *Inscrip. Lat. Select.* 8743, describes it as *vasculum . . . ex tribus doliolis conglutinatum*.

stopping at a point a little way along the rise presented by Dol. III. The long line numbered 5 begins above the two final letters of 4 and, entirely encircling Dol. III, meanders along the concave of the joint binding Dol. III with Dol. I, coming to an end on Dol. I under the first three characters of line 1. It could not be more clearly hinted that this line is to be assigned to Dol. III.

The usual arrangement of the lines has been 1 and 2, 5, 3 and 4. This does not seem to me nearly so well to satisfy the lay of the lines. Nor is it, in view of the greater accessibility of the writing surface, a fair objection to my arrangement to notice that line 5 begins above line 4. It is right to say, however, that my division and arrangement of the lines was suggested purely by the effort at their verbal interpretation, the neat symmetry of the divisions in regard to the three doliola not having occurred to me till later.

I think it can hardly be accidental that by my division of the lines they may be thrown provisionally into a metrical arrangement, as follows:

Iōuě[i] sāt   deīuōs   qoī mēd   mītāt	4	anap.
nēi tēd   ēndō   cosmis   uirco   sied	4½	"
Duēnōs mēd   fēkēd   ēn mā-   nōmēinom	4	"
Dzēnōi   nē mēd   māllo<s>   statōd	4	"
ast ēd-   nōisi ōpē-   tōitē   syāipā   kārī-   uōis	5½	"

I have now brought my readers to the point at which I arrived by the inspection of the object and by the verbal study of the legend, including of course previous interpretations of it, so far as they are accessible to me. It was at this point that I began to look for literary illustrations and parallels, seeking to find a place in Roman customs for a synthesis doliolorum exhibiting a humorous dialogue meandering about the little component vases; and I find an appropriate use for the object as an apophoreton, or a playful present for the Saturnalia. Accordingly, passing over the apophoreta presented at Trimalchio's dinner (Petronius 56), let us note the following instances:

Statius, in a playful list of Saturnalia presents that his friend Grypus ("Riddle") might have sent him, suggests (Silv. IV 9, 43 sq.):

Cumano patinas in orbe tortas  
aut unam dare synthesin—quid horres?—  
alborum calicum atque caccaborum;

so Martial (IV 46, 15), in a similar list, mentions :

et crasso figuli polita caelo  
septenaria synthesis Sagunti.

These poets may, it is true, have meant an actual set of plates or pots, but a synthesis such as ours would be just the sort of thing for a punster like Trimalchio to award as an apophoreton. In Martial's list of apophoreta, two (XIV 105, 106) may have been like our synthesis, in a general way.

Urceoli ministratorii,

Frigida non deerit, non deerit calda petenti ;  
Sed tu morosa ludere parce siti.

Urceus fictilis,

Hic tibi donatur panda ruber urceus ansa ;  
Stoicus hoc gelidam Fronto petebat aquam.

The jocular Saturnalia present was in vogue in the time of Catullus (Carm. xiv), to whom Calvus had sent a roll of bad verses, and the same trick was perpetrated on Statius (Silv. IV 9) by one Grypus, who sent Statius

· · Bruti senis oscitationes  
de capsula miseri libellionis  
emptum plus minus asse Gaiano,

and we may well wonder if Statius does not pun in *Oscitationes* on the name *Osci*, alluding to the dialectic character of the ancient verses.<sup>1</sup>

With these data before our eyes, we may feel that the surmise that the synthesis Dresseliana was a jocular present is not an entirely unwarranted fancy.

As regards dating the inscription by its linguistic character, obviously we can depend on nothing in an archaizing inscription, and particularly if we have a cryptograph before us which purposely used, with some conventional limitations perhaps, the most confusing forms and alphabet<sup>2</sup> available to the composer of

<sup>1</sup> I use 'dialectic', of course, as one would speak of the dialect of Chaucer. Oscan must have seemed particularly ancient, to draw the proper inference from Strabo's *ἰδιὸν δέ τι τοῖς Ὀσκοῖς . . . συμβέβηκε τῶν μὲν γὰρ Ὀσκῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἢ διάλεκτος μένει παρὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, ὥστε καὶ ποιήματα σκηνοβατεῖσθαι κατὰ τινα ἀγῶνα πάτριον καὶ μιμολογεῖσθαι* (cited from Schanz, *Röm. Lit.-Gesch.*<sup>2</sup> i, p. 155).

<sup>2</sup> We who use black-letter or German text for our visiting cards can hardly suppose that the Romans did not have patterns or pattern books of ancient

the legend. Under these circumstances, everything, pots and all, was subject to archaization. And the legend is the work of a clever *scurra grammaticus*, I take it, who knew his old Latin authors, and to whom a walk about the forum or out among the graves on the Appian way might have revealed many a curiosity in word forms and orthography not now accessible to us in all the pages of the *Corpus Inscriptionum*. But we shall have to call upon very few inscriptions to illustrate for ourselves the linguistic peculiarities<sup>1</sup> of the *synthesis doliolorum*. Indicia for dating the inscription seem to me, therefore, to be wanting, and we might father it upon any Roman *scurra* with a *grammaticus* for his friend, from the time of Lucilius to Quintilian. It may possibly be even earlier.

But let us back to our *res ludica*, three tricksy *doliola* in a group, with a tricksy legend meandering *seriatim* about them, and search for possible parallels. This will bring us to a curious citation to be found in the older and better part of the treatise entitled *Probi in Vergilii Bucolica et Georgica Commentarius*, a document whose older parts it is surely safer for us to accredit to Probus than to some Epigonus of our own invention. I print the passage as it stands in Keil's edition (p. 18), but with the verses in the metrical arrangement of Buecheler (*Petronius*, p. 174):

Sin vero caelum pro igni in his versibus <Bucol. 6, 31> intellexerimus, quem eundem mundum et κόσμον dictum probat Varro in Cynicis, quam inscripsit Dolium aut Seria, sic:

mundús domus est maxima homulli	4	anap.
quam quinque altitonae fragmine zonae	4½	"
cingunt, per quam limbus pictus	4	"
bis sex signis stellumicantibus	4	"
5 altus in obliquo aethere lunae   bigas acceptat <sup>2</sup> , 6½	6½	"

script forms at command. Nor is it improbable that an Orbilius taught spelling, as well as reading, from the text of Livius Andronicus (cf. Horace, *Ep.* 2, 1, 69) and, to judge from Quintilian's later recommendation (*Inst. Or.* 1, 1, 35), he probably had a 'spelling-book' that laid especial emphasis on the γλῶσσαι: how otherwise account for the work of a Verrius Flaccus?

<sup>1</sup> I beg to notify the reader that I mean to treat as linguistic peculiarities chiefly such things as a Roman grammaticus might have jotted down in his notes, and to draw such deductions as I think such an one might have drawn.

<sup>2</sup> Our text runs on, without a break: Postumi Cui <lege Qui> seplasia fetet: appellatur a caelatura caelum, graece ab ornatu κόσμος, latine a puritia



Here the title, *Dolium aut Seria*, has been taken as proverbial (cf. Otto, *Sprichwoerter*, s. v. *dolium*), but this I do not believe. The title is a punning one. There seems to have been not infrequent occasion for mentioning the *dōlium* and *seria* together (cf. Becker-Göll, *Gallus*, III, p. 419), and the contrast of δόλιον with seria,<sup>1</sup> of 'tricky' with 'serious', must often have forced itself on the attention of users of the phrase. The trick of adulterating wine (cf. Pliny, *N. H.* 23, 33 and Mart. 13, 111, cited in Becker-Göll, l. c., 426, 433) would also have furnished a motive. Now I suppose Varro's title of *Dolium aut Seria* to have indicated that the contents of the book were now tricky, now serious,—or both; and it may have consisted of riddles<sup>2</sup> and catches interspersed among more serious paragraphs. That the title, or rather the phrase adopted as a title, may have been in use before Varro's time is self-evident.<sup>3</sup>

But to return to our *Synthesis Doliolorum aut Seriolarum*. We have found an almost precise metrical parallel in an extant Latin citation drawn from a *satura* entitled *Dolium aut Seria*. This curious metrical coincidence, considered along with the correspondence of object and title, may be only one of the freaks of coincidence that beset investigators, but it has seriously shaken my confidence in the antiquity of the legend on our little tripod. Not that the Varro citation is necessarily the older. There is a way out of that difficulty by supposing that a 'dolium' was a

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mundus; and at the risk of introducing matters not germane to my subject, I would note an interpretation that has occurred to me of this title. Postumius has, I conjecture, a tell-tale name, and is cousin-german to Catullus's Postumia (*Carm.* 27). This fatherless spoiled child, this nepos, this dandy reeking of perfumes, is represented as interpreting *caelum* by *caelatura* (jewelry), κόσμος by *ornatus* (clothes), and *mundus* by *puritia* (cleanliness): what a different style of etymologizing from that of the following fragment (33, Buech.): *idque alterum appellamus a calendo calorem, alterum a fervore febrim*.

<sup>1</sup> *Seria* may belong with *servare*, with dialectic loss of *v* as in Umbrian *seritu* 'servato'; or was the *seria* originally used for 'dry' objects (ξηρός)?

<sup>2</sup> The use of Varro's *Cynicae* as a (grammatical) riddle-book is not inconsistent with Gellius 13, 31.

<sup>3</sup> I here note the two curious glosses criticised by Goetz in his index volume as *obscurae*, viz.: *sereon* inepte uel discrete, *serion* ineptae uel districtae: may we suppose that *sereon* is some sort of mutilation of what was originally *dolium aut seria*? It looks more like the interrogation, *serion(e)*.

verse type of the playful sort like the newfangled limerick of yesterday—and tomorrow.<sup>1</sup>

Let us now proceed to a more detailed examination of the inscription, from the points of view already mentioned above, but especially bearing in mind that each line is a sort of grammatical conundrum. Nor need we dwell on such orthographical instances as any reader of Plautus, or knower of the habits of spelling employed, say, on inscriptions of the type of the (refact) Elogium Duilli, would know. Thus *deiuos* (= *divos*), *med* (= *me*) *mitat* (= *mittat*), *nei* (= *ni* 'ne' or *ni* 'nisi'), *ted* (= *te*), *endo* (= *indu*, *in*), *virco* (= *virgo*), *sied* (= *sit*, *siet*; for -*d* cf. *at/ad* as discussed by Quintilian 1, 7, 5), *ast* (= *at*), *en* (= *in*), *statod* (= *stato*) need not detain us. The remainder of the vocabulary we must submit to special notice.

1) *Ioue[i] sat deiuos qoi med mitat.*<sup>2</sup>

The conundrum-asker expects to puzzle by *Iouei sat* (if the 5th character be read as *i* and not as a line divider), especially as followed by *deiuos*. As I unravel the riddle, he meant *Ioue[t]* *sat*, using *iouet* for *iuuet* as on the inscription of the Faliscan cooks (Dessau 3083; Lindsay, *Lat. Inscr.* xxxviii), and omitting his person ending -*t* (*d*), whether as in early or as in later inscription forms (cf., in Dessau, *fece* 8620; *dede* 2979, 2982, 3143, but *dedet* 2987, 3142: cf. also vulgar forms like *ama*, *peria* (*bereat*), *valia* (*valeat*), *vota* (*vetat*) on Pompeian inscriptions (cf. Buecheler, *Carm. Epigr.*, No. 946).<sup>3</sup> We are still left with the problem of the fifth character. Is it a word-separator? Is it an

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the 'serpentine' and 'anacylic' stanzas of the *Anthologia Latina* (Riese, Vol. I, Nos. 38–80; 81).

<sup>2</sup> In *SAT*, *A* is superposed on a (?traced, or) nearly smoothed-out *E*. As a mere question of palaeography I should regard this as a correction of *set* (*sed*) to *sat*, but in a latebra scribendi the scribe, in leaving the adumbrated *E*, seems to me to have intended, in the context with *Iouei*, to suggest *Saet* <*urnus*>. To the same intention we might ascribe the afterthought *i* of *Jouei*. As for the final *t* of *mitat*, the cryptographer could hardly be expected consistently to employ -*d* and -*t* as secondary and primary person-endings.

<sup>3</sup> At the risk of seeming oversubtle, let me point out that a subjunctive *iouēd* in sentence euphony before a consonant would, in the spoken dialect of Plautus' time have yielded *iouē* or, with iambic shortening, *iouē̄*: it is simply the phonetic history of *beně*, *malě*, *modō* with which we have to deal over again. Thus an early inscription form like *dede* for \**dedēd* need not be branded as dialectic, even though Umbrian -*d* also fell away.

*i*<sup>1</sup>? No amount of positive assertion from the merely graphic standpoint can make one of these solutions more probable than the other. That it was intended as a 'confuser' for the riddle-guesser, and that it may have been an afterthought inserted on the 'copy' furnished the potter, seems to me probable. But admitting it for an *i*, I shall believe it was a silent letter, an iota adscriptum<sup>2</sup> et invocatum (ἀνεκφώνητον), introduced as a 'confuser' by the scurra grammaticus, who not only knew of the Greek silent iota, but had connected it with old Latin orthographical peculiarities.<sup>3</sup>

The really difficult word in our inscription is QOI, and no progress has been made in solving the difficulty since the searching study of Bersu (Gutturalen, p. 37).<sup>4</sup> Rather has the difficulty been

<sup>1</sup> It might possibly be an uncrossed *z*: note the very long shanked *z* with short crossbar in σταδ.

<sup>2</sup> Earlier Latin borrowings from the Greek bring over the adscript iota, but not later ones (cf. Blass, *Aussprache*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 48-49).

<sup>3</sup> I refer to such spellings as the datives salute (D. 2975), matre (2981), in contrast with Apolenei (2970); Vediovei patrei (2988), but Dioue (2989); on the self-same (? refact) Scipio Epitaph (7) honore, dat., and virtutei, abl., (Romano iudicante); ei for *ē* and *ē* in L. Aemilius L. f. inperator decrevit (D. 15; cf. Lindsay, *Lat. Lang.* p. 22, § 11, who also notes leigibus and pleib.) The parallelism of -*ō* and -*oi* in the dative sg. masc. had certainly been made a matter of grammatical observation; cf. Marius Victorinus (Keil, vi, 17), who cites populoi Romano; the forms *cameloi* and *caproi*, cited by the same (ib., p. 24) "ex peritorum quorundam scriptionibus", are probably correctly explained by Sommer (Gram., p. 372) as mere transcriptions of Greek datives in -*ωι*. We cannot doubt that, in the phonetic passage from -*oi* to -*o*, there was a stage in which -*ō* was written down as -*oi*; cf. the curious inscription, No. 7292 (D.), where virginio infelicissimoi can only be a dative. The same phenomenon with the dative in *a/ai*, e. g., D. 3100, Iunonei Loucina) (3101, Iunone Loucinai, cf. 3099 Iunone Loucina. I cannot but think that the (professional) inscription writers followed old norms more or less bunglingly, and I see no real phonetic differentiation but a mere graphic inconsequence in the datives of the inscription . . . leibertus Iunone Seispitei matri reginae (D. 3097), where the common names have the form of the normal grammar paradigms. Further note Caeicilius of 147 or 116 B. C. (Lindsay, l. c., p. 242). To avoid being misunderstood, let me add, apropos of line 3 of this footnote, that I am aware that honore is generally interpreted as accus. (so Dessau, quoting Mommsen), but the dative seems to me more probable (cf. Livy I, 24, 7, illis legibus populus Romanus non deficiet): thus vita defecit honore syntactically equals vita non suffecit honori.

<sup>4</sup> Bersu makes it entirely clear that Q (κόππα) was never a recognized transcription of *qu*-. late spellings like *qa*- are not in point. The spelling *quom* for *gom*, *cum* is analogical, perhaps directly with -*que*, as (in an imaginary instance), me teque amat = me tecum amat.

increased by the discovery of the Forum Cippus with its QVOI. That QOI represented a real pronunciation quoi seems quite inadmissible till a late imperial period, far too late for our inscription. There is absolutely no evidence, either, that Q was ever used as a graphic sign for qu. I can find but one reasonable explanation of QOI (? for QOOI), and that is that in the cryptograph QO- is a Greekish transcription, wherein Ko- = Lat qu- (cf. *Κόιντος* = Quintus, D. 8764, anno 195-4).<sup>1</sup> We need not wonder that the cryptographist, who had chosen an alphabet rather nearer Greek than Latin, should have used a Greekish transcription: QOI lent itself to confusion with case forms of 'Cous', and might have seemed to the cryptographist less transparent than QOEI would have been. At any rate, we may suppose that the graphic doublet *i/ei* was applied by the scurra ad libitum.

2) nei ted e[? i]ndo cosmis virco sied.

The spelling *cosmis* may have been based on instances like *triresmos*, on the refact elogium Duilii (Dessau 65, 12; cf. *dis-mota* D. 18, 30), on grammatical knowledge of doublets like *Casmenae* | *Camenae* registered (for us) in Varro, L. L. 7, 27 (with an entirely gratuitous middle term *carmenae*), and in Festus (de Ponor. 244, 14), who adds *pesnis* | *pennis*, *caesnas* | *caenas*: further cf. *dusmo* in loco (l. c. 47, 22). But any grammaticus was capable of connecting *comis* with *κόσμος*, as a glossist actually did and as, in fact, we ought to do ourselves, in view of the very plain meaning of the adverb in the oracle of Marcius (quoted by Livy, 25, 12), *ludi qui quotannis comiter Apollini fiant*.<sup>2</sup> And I would say, in passing, that, however much better delimited our present comparative method is, it has not produced results greatly superior to the Graeco-Roman equations listed by Varro, L. L. 6, §96. In view of the Paelignian traces later to be pointed out in our inscription, we may also note *prismu* 'prima' as an instance of sm/m.

To the serious interpretation of *virco* as 'aqua' immediate objection would spring up, I am aware. Certainly it is nothing

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Varro, L. L. 6, 2; Cointos in Roman script in an inscription of Arabian provenience (CIL. III, Suppl., 14382).

<sup>2</sup> I do not mean, of course, that either *cosmis* or *κόσμος* go immediately back to primitive *kosm-*, but they go back, in my opinion, to *kodsmo-*, *kod-* belonging with the base *s)k(h)ē(y)d-* 'caedere' (cf. the writer, Am. Jr. Phil. 26, 395 sq.), and the primitive sense was something like 'shapely, trim.'

strange, however, to explain *virco* as a humorous substitution for *nympha*, and *nympha* as a practical doublet of *lympa*. The hesitant reader may satisfy his doubts by turning up the vox media *nympha* in a lexicon, or the inscriptions to the *Nymphae* in Dessau, particularly 3858, where on a bilingual we have *Lumphieis* but *Νύμφαις*; and 3859, which begins *Nymphis Lymphisq. Augustis*. But we have even better evidence, which will perhaps throw light on the date of our riddle. In 19 B. C. Agrippa constructed the aqueduct known as *Aqua Virgo*, called simply *Virgo* (*gelidissima*) by Ovid (*Ar. Am.* 3, 385<sup>1</sup>) and by Martial (6, 42, 18 et al.). So our *scurra grammaticus* may have used *virco* as a substitute for *Aqua* (or *Lympha*, cf. *Lympha Marcia*, *Tibullus* 3, 6, 58) *Virgo*. As for the name, we have on the one hand the statement of *Frontinus* (*Aquae.* 10) that the discoverer of the source was a *puella virguncula*—where I think it an open question whether *virguncula* may not be an abl. = *virgula divina* (cf. the gloss *virguncula virga modica*); on the other, *Pliny* (*N. H.* 31, 42) has it <*virginem*> *iuxta est Herculaneus rivus, quem refugiens virginis nomen obtinuit*. And the name *Aqua Virgo* may be a combination older than either story: cf. the Homeric Hymn to *Ceres* 99, where a *φρέαρ παρθένιον* is mentioned, and in the *Rig Veda* we have a *Nympha* known as *ápyā Yóṣā* (*Yóṣaṇā*) ‘*aquea virgo*’. Thus *Aqua Virgo* may prove to be so old a linguistic combination as to serve us ill in giving a date to the inscription.

I take *sied* for metrical reasons as a monosyllable. To the scribe it was a written equivalent of *sit*, not a phonetic variant for it, I fancy. The scribes of Plautine manuscripts write it so every now and then.

### 3) Duenos med feked<sup>2</sup> en manomeinom.

The spelling of *Benus* as *Duenos* required no great antiquarian knowledge. For *dv-/b-* we know the necessary analogies from the form *duonum* ‘*bonum*’ (*Paulus-Festus* 47); the stem *duono-* also on a *Scipio* epitaph (*D.* 3), and in *Livius Andronicus*. The

<sup>1</sup> Ovid is also cited in the *lexica* for *virgineus liquor*, *virginea aqua*.

<sup>2</sup> It is merely a toss-up whether we print *feked* or *feced*, as the scribe has, here and in *karivois* (l. 5), so superposed *κ* and *c*, the one above the other, as to leave it quite uncertain which character he meant finally to leave. Thus the *κc* monograms also seem a part of the cryptographer's apparatus of confusion.

doublet duellum/bellum was a thing of common knowledge, and a grammaticus should have known Varro's duonus cerus es (L. L. 7, 26).<sup>1</sup>

For *feced*, we may cite the form cepet (Dessau 65, 5); cf. fuet and cepit on the same Scipio epitaph (D. 3). For the final -*d* see above, p. 128, and note fecid but dedit on the same cista (D. 8562)—with *dedit* by dissimilation from dedeid?

There is room for doubt as to the real meaning of *manomeinom* in the cryptograph: I am most inclined to take it as *μαινόμενον*<sup>2</sup> 'lymphatum, furentem' (sc. vino); cf. Horace, C. 2, 7, 28, non ego sanius | bacchabor Edonis: recepto | dulce mihi furere est amico; also 3, 19, 18 insanire iuvat; and in general Cicero, Brutus 276, furere et bacchari, Il. 6, 132 *μαινόμενος Διόνυσος*, Sophocles, Antigone 1152, <Θυιάδες> *μαινόμεναι*, Plato, Legg. 733 D, *μανόμενος οἶνος*. The cryptographer may have modelled his spelling of *ā* for *ai* on the relation of *crāpula* to *κραίπᾶλη*, an identification any scurra furens was capable of; further the pair Saeturnus | Sāturnus may be noted, also the dative doublet -*ā* | *ai*; cf. also the Petronian guessing contest (56) in which the conundrum as to *muraena* is answered by murem cum rana.. <accepit>.<sup>3</sup> The appearance of *ei* for *ē* may be paralleled by inpeirator, noted above, but I think we can allow the cryptographer his 'silent' *i* anywhere. If we divide manom einum, I suppose *einum* to have been some sort of canting pronunciation of vinum, under the influence of *οἶνος*, cf. petimus uinum ex oenopolio (Plautus, Asin. 2co). This leaves us with two possibilities for *manom*, viz.: (1) mānum = 'bonum', (2) Mānium; and I have even thought—if the inscription were of serious import—of a third, 'hominum'. The third etymologically illuminates the other two. If Italic had a stem

<sup>1</sup> Varro goes on with dunus Ianus: with *dunus*, and Paulus-Festus's (l. s. c.) *dubenus* (lege duuenus) apud antiquos dicebatur qui nunc dominus, before our eyes, I cannot but believe that *duonus*, *dunus* and *duuenus* belong with *δύναμαι* (pace Walde, s. v. bonus): for the sense cf. the compv. *κρείσσων* 'melior': *κράτος* 'vis'. With the proper name Duenos cf. *Κράτης*. Further note Plautine bona voce 'of a strong voice' (Mo. 576).

<sup>2</sup> For the Grecism cf. tangomenas (?lege tengomenas), Petron. 34, 7.

<sup>3</sup> Note may here be taken of Ennius ap. Charisium I, 98, 12 (Thesaurus I 1066, 22): erumnam Ennius ait per e solum scribi posse, quod mentem eruat, et per a [et e, so Vahlen's Ennius<sup>2</sup> Inc., No. 49, fn.], quod maerorem nutriat. This is not only very early testimony to *ae/e* (cf. my note on aetate et satietate, Most. 196), but seems to attest a form *arumna* (for I take it that nutriat has here ousted alat from the text) and the vowel alternation *ae/ā*.

corresponding to Skr. *mānu-* (1) 'homo', (2) 'die Ahnherrn' (approximating 'Manes'), its genitive plural might have been \**mānwōm*, and I know of nothing to prevent us from believing that Italic *-anw-* might have yielded *-ān-*, just as, in not a few dialects, *-avF-* yields *-āv-*. The nom. sg. \**manus* would have had beside it an acc. \**manvom*, whence \**mānom* (or allowing for the reduction of *vo* to *o* \**mānom*). These two case-forms may be the source of the Latin adj. *mānus* 'good'. It seems to me much more likely that the adj. form came from *manu* + *o* > *manvo-* > *māno-*. In view of "manuos in carminibus saliaribus Aelius Stilo† significare ait bonos" (Festus, p. 130, de Ponor), we may look upon this derivation of \**manvo-* as almost attested, unless *manuos* be morphologically connected with Skr. *mānavā-s* 'humanus'. For its sense, *mānus* is to be defined by 'humane', cf. Skr. *manuṣyā-s* *mānuṣa-s*, 'humane', 'homo'; *manuṣyās* 'Manes'. For the change of stem in *Mānes*, we may note the usual passage of adj. *u*-stems, in Latin, over to *ui*-stems (as in *suavis*, e. g.); and if the feminine played a rôle there, we may well suppose that an adj. \**mānu-s*, fem. \**manwis* gave rise to a masc. \**manwis*, preserved only in the context (di) *Manes*.<sup>1</sup> Also note, in Oscan and Umbrian, the abl. in *-id*, *-i* (Osc. acc. in *-im*) to *u*-stems (cf. Buck, Elem. -Buch §§ 157, 49). The connection of *mānus* and *Manes* with Skr. *mānu-s* has everything in its favor, except the superstitious reluctance to accept any etymology of high cultural import. It does not conflict with the cognation of *Manes* with Phryg. *μανία* 'καλή' (cf. Kretschmer, Einl., p. 198, infra), taking 'καλή' as a secondary development from 'ἀγαθή';<sup>2</sup> and it makes for the connection of *Manes* with *Μάνης* 'man', a common name for Phrygian slaves (cf. Eng. "Like master, like man"); and *μάνης* is the 'man(nikin)' used in playing at cottabos. *Μῆν καταχθόνιος*, a divinity invoked as protector of graves, and *Μάνης* are names for the Ahnherrn, the *Manes*. The same group in German *mann*, *Mannus*.

#### 4) *dzenoi* ne med mallo <s> statod.

That the inscription actually means to read *dzenoi* and not *dvenoi* seems to me every way the more likely. I take *dz-* as a pho-

<sup>1</sup> I do not cite the 'negative' *immanis* because I have never been sure it was semantically connectible with this group.

<sup>2</sup> But we may well connect *μανία* with *μανός* 'rarus' (cf. MHG. *kūme* 'dünn, schwach, gebrechlich' cognate with O. Eng. *cȳme* 'zart, fein, schön': v. Kluge, Woert., s. v. *kaum*).

netic transcription of Greek  $\Xi$ ,<sup>1</sup> and look upon the i as the cryptographer's 'silent' letter; cf. the curious infelicissimoi cited above (p. 129), where the -i can scarcely have phonetic value. It could hardly be that the -v of Ζήνων left a sort of vanish in sinking to Latin Zeno. We may infer that Zeno would not have been looked upon as a good sodalis, ἦσθιε δ' ἀπρίδια καὶ μέλι καὶ ὀλίγον εὐώδους οἴναριον ἐπέπινε (Diogenes Laertius vii 1, 12).

An unprejudiced reading of the facsimiles of the inscription will, I think, convince anyone that the third character in the word read now as *maao* and now as *mao* may rather be  $\lambda$  or  $\lambda_{\downarrow}$  (?).<sup>2</sup> The writer had in mind normal Latin *malus* and, having written his word, crowded in the second *l* (or the *v*), making a sort of monogram. Given an Italic stem *malwo-*, the forms *malwos* and *malwom* would have yielded Lat. *malos*, *malom* (cf. *parum* < *parwom*). In the plural, gen. *malwom*, after being shortened to *malvōm*, might also yield *malōm*. Assuming for the other cases assimilation of -*lv-* to -*ll-*, the genitives *mallōrum* *mallarum* might also have yielded *malorum*, etc. In Latin, the conflict of *malō-* and *mallo-* was resolved in favor of *malō-* (note the expletive *malum*!). In Oscan the stem *malvo-* > *mallo-* prevailed. I cannot think it likely, in view of the certain interpretation, in the Bantian inscription, of Oscan *perum dolum mallom* by Lat. *sine dolo malo*, that *mallom* had a different stem formation from *malo-*. And the question of the Latin (Italic) treatment of -*LWO-* I regard as still an open one. Solmsen (KZ. 38, 437 sq.) has, to be sure,

<sup>1</sup> I suppose the cryptographer to have first written *denoi*, to do which he need not have known his Aristophanes (Δένος for Ξένος, Ach. 911; cf. Δήνα, ap. Blass. Ausspr.<sup>3</sup>, p. 120) at first hand, for the grammatical tradition of *d-* as a transcription form for *ζ* is found in Priscian (ap. Lindsay, Lat. Lang., p. 11). The subsequent insertion of *Z* (rather than  $\Xi$ ) may have been intended to simplify the puzzle; or *dz-* may be interpreted, like the  $\kappa\zeta$  monograms above (p. 131, fn. 2), as the intentional admission of conflicting methods of spelling.

<sup>2</sup> Conway (Am. Jr. Phil. 10, 447) thought that the scribe first wrote  $\Delta$  and then corrected it to  $\vee$ , to which Hempl (Trans. Am. Phil. Ass. Soc. 33, 166) properly objects that he did not rub out the  $\Delta$ . My solution is that the scribe actually meant to write both, and for the nonce used a monogram in his latebrae litterarum. From Jordan's reproductions (Nos. 2 and 5 in Hermes 16, post p. 224) and Zvetaieff's (Inscr. Ital. Infer., No. 285), it seems possible that we may have a monogram of three letters, the second of which—and this would date the inscription—may be  $\mathbf{L}$  (in a right-to-left script), with its middle bar coinciding with the up-stroke of the  $\vee$ , and its lower bar merged into the following *O* which, in Zvetaieff's reproduction, is considerably flattened at the top.



discounted all the evidence for *ll* from *lv* in favor of the testimony of the three color words *helvos*, *gilvos*, *fulvos* (all indicating shades of yellow, and all, in my opinion, deriving from the alternating base  $\hat{G}HEL$  |  $G^WHEL$ -; see Am. Jr. Phil. 26, p. 386 sq.). Their phonetic testimony seems to me to invite impeachment: the ending *-vos* for color adjectives is also seen in *flauos* and *furnuos*, and a group association may have protected the *u* in *heluos*, etc., from assimilation, particularly in view of the semantic and phonetic nearness of *fuluos* and *flauos*. If this consideration destroys the weight of the testimony of *heluos*<sup>1</sup> etc., it throws into greater prominence the testimony of Lat. *malus*, Osc. *mallo*- [?dialectic \**malvak*- (cf. Osc. *malaks*<sup>2</sup> 'malevolos'), whence Fr. *mauvais*].<sup>3</sup>

But to return to our inscription: *mallos* (*malvos*?) is a dialectic form for *malus* introduced, et ambagiarum et metri causa, by our cryptographist.

As for *statod*: if it means 'sistito', I can add nothing to Lindsay's defense of the transitive usage (Lat. Inscr., p. 20). Possibly, though, *med statod* is used by the cryptographer for *a me stato* "stand on my side" (= by me).<sup>4</sup>

5) *ast ednoisi opetoite siaipa kariuois*.

In this line *ast* is the only entirely Latin word. I explain *ednoisi* as a dat.-loc. plur. from a stem *eda\*no*-, cognate with

<sup>1</sup> I note Lat. *galbus*  $\chi\lambda\omega\rho\acute{o}s$ ; i. e., 'albogilvus', which is a blend of a form belonging to  $\hat{G}HEL$ - with the stem  $ALBHO$ - 'white'; this  $GHLALBH$ - was formed early enough to suffer aspirate dissimilation to \**glalbh*- > \**galb*-: the *g*- of *giluos* may then be ascribed to association with *galbus*.

<sup>2</sup> Suffix like *audax*.

<sup>3</sup> I admit that Fr. *mauvais* is not entirely adequate testimony for an Italic \**malvo*-, but it may be observed that *malvo*- need not be of pre-Italic origin. Supposing Latin *malus* the actual outcome of pre-Italic \**malos*, a secondary derivative \**malvos* may yet have originated in Italic by the association of \**malos* with its synonym *pravos* and its antonym \**manvos* (cf. *mānus*, p. 133). It is common for us to forget the long centuries of ethnic language history in which proethnic suffixes may have become ethnically associated with proethnic 'roots'.

<sup>4</sup> I would defend the simple ablative on the inscription much as Lindsay defends *tua re feceris* (note on Captivi, 296); in *ā me stat* (*facit*) 'he stands (acts) on my side', *ā* is a reinforcement of a simple separative ablative, as attested by *meā rē fert* 'it bears on my interest'. The same conception in *ex tua re est*, where *ex* doubtless reinforces the simple separative case. Conceivably, of course, *mea re* is an associative and we might have expected *mea cum re* to develop: cf. *a me*, *cum me stat* (*facit*).

ἐδανόν (: Skr. *annām* 'food', found also perhaps in Plautine *sociennus* 'qui socios comedit', cf. Am. Jr. Phil. 28, 417); and adumbrated in the Latin nouns *edo*, *comedo*. Whether *ednoisi* is masc. and means 'comendonibus', or neuter and means 'escis', is not clear. The ending *-oisi* is either macaronic Greek or Paelignian—wherein forms in *-ois* are extant. Whether Paelignian or Old Latin ever had loc. plur. forms in *-oisi* is not attested. I have recognized consonant stem locatives in *-si*, in *necesse* and *vicissi* < *m* > (Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc. 37, 12; 16).

As for *opetoite*, has it 'silent' *i* = *opetote*? Or is *-i* a parasitic vanish left by the *-d* of the sg. *opetod* + *-te*? It is to be connected with Latin *oplant*, or rather with the Festus entry *praedotiomt* (lege *praedopiunt*, *t* being a common ductus misreading for *p* in a thin capital MS.), Umbrian *upetu* (plur. *upetuta*) 'optato.'

I take *karivois* as an extension of *carus* 'dear'<sup>1</sup>; cf. *coctus*: *coctivus*, etc. Its sense will vary according to the sense given to *ednoisi*; it may be some sort of a *cena*, and to be interpreted by 'in caristiis'; or a kind of food, quasi 'cher-cher' (cf. *bonbon*); or, if masculine, it may mean 'amicis'.

Last, I take up *syaiṣa* = 'sīquā', but to be rendered by 'sive'. If there is not an error here for *svaiṣa* (cf. Osc. *svai puh*, Umbr. **svepu** 'sive'), and if we may explain the word as a genuine Paelignian form, then *syai* is a loc. sg. fem. to a stem *SYO-*, represented by Skr. *syā-* (nom. only), Gāthic-Avestan *hyaṭ* 'quod, quom, si, ut', Old Persian *hya-* (used as a relative), with the adverbial case form *hyāḥ*. No good reason seems to me to have been advanced, pace Bartholomae, Woerterbuch, 1227, 2, to disconnect *hyaṭ* from *hya-*. The demons.-rel. stem *SYO-* is as well attested as is the demons. stem *SWO-* (= Avest. *hva-*), to which we must ascribe Oscan *svai*, Umbr. *svē* 'si'; nor does Lat. *si* < *SEI* (? *si'Yai*) belong to a demonstrative stem of clearer attestation.

And now to summarize the details presented above, in necessarily scattered fashion: The three *doliola* which hold the Duenos inscription, a dialogue in riddles, constituted a jocular apophoreton (p. 124); and the legend was, to a certain extent, a cryptograph, and was accordingly written from right to left, without interpuncts, and in an ancient Chalcidico-Italic script (p. 125). The inscription contains archaic and dialectic (even macaronic) spellings and word forms which may have been furnished by a *scurra grammaticus* from a time prior to Lucilius down to the time of

<sup>1</sup> The productivity of the suffix *-ivus* is attested by Petronian *absentivos*.

Quintilian (p. 126). The following archaisms, some of which (I refer more particularly to silent *i* and the EI(?), DZ and KC 'monograms') may have been conventions of the riddle or inventions of the riddler, occur (see also p. 128):

1) In transcription,—*ei* for *i* (*deiuos*, but *goi*, p. 130); the blending (p. 131) of *k* and *c* in *fekced* and *kcarivois* (consult a facsimile); *c* for *g* in *uirco* (p. 128); *-os* for *-us* in *duenos* (p. 131); *-sm-* for *-m-* in *cosmis* (p. 130); *dz-* for *z-* in *Dzenoi* (p. 134); QO- (= Lat. *qu-*) for *ko-* in QOI (p. 130); *ā* for *ai* in *manomeinom* (p. 132); *e* < *ei* in *feced*; "silent" *i* in *Iouei* (p. 128), *manomeinom* (p. 132), *dzenoi* (p. 134), *opetoite* (p. 136); *t-* for *-tt-* in *mitat* (p. 128), but *-ll-* (? *lv-*) not *l* in *mallo* < *s* > (p. 134); *du-* for *b-* in *duenos* (p. 131).

2) In forms,—3d sg. verb ending in *-t* (*mitat*), in *-d* (*sied*, *feced*), and with *-d* dropped (*iouei*); *sied* graphic for *sit* rather than for *siet* (p. 131); dat.-loc. plur. (? Paelignian or macaronic) in *-oisi*, *-ois* (p. 136).

3) In vocabulary,—*siaipa* = *siquā* (p. 136); *uirco* = *nympha*, *aqua* (p. 130).

If the synthesis doliolorum had a serious purpose, it may have served to contain a trisponadic offering to the Manes: then *cosmis uirco* alludes to the prescription of chastity in that ritual, and (*mano* < *m* >) *meinom* is a *communitas* or *munus* (*Manium*). Or the vessel may have been used for some unknown ritual in a *sodalitas iuvenum* (cf. Usener's *Über vergl. Sitten- und Rechtsgeschichte*, p. 42 sq. of the Sonderabdruck Hess. *Blättern für Volkskunde* I, 3), without change in the reference to *cosmis uirco*, but with *mano* < *m* > = 'hominum'. Those who think of a witchcraft practice may well consider whether the Paelignian touches pointed out in line 5 may not be due to some Paelignian anus (cf. Horace, Ep. 17, 60).

In conclusion, to leave no doubt as to the interpretation I advance, I present the text—using, in the now customary style, insertion and excision parentheses to indicate the insertions and erasures of the graver—with a translation into English that must, perforce, fail to render the equivoques pointed out above:

Ioue < *i* > sa[? e]t deiuos goi med mitat.  
 Nei ted e[? i]ndo cosmis virco sied.  
 Dvenos med fek[c]ed en manomeinom.  
 D < *z* > enoi ne med mallo < *s* > statod.  
 Ast ednoisi opetoite siaipa [k]carivois.

1st Demi-John. He quite would please the gods who'd send them *me*.

2d Dem. Unless in *you* they found but ord'n'ry water.

1st Dem. Benus made *me* for such-as-take-theirs-straight.

2d Dem. Nor let no dour Stoicks stand by *me*.

3d Dem. But, <gin ye chuse,> chuse <*me*> for vittelage or daintrels.

#### Literature (accessible to me):

Buecheler, Rh. Mus., 36, 253; Jordan, Hermes, 16, 225 (with excellent facsimiles); Thurneysen, KZ., 33, 212; Conway, Am. Jr. Phil. 10, 445 (with facsimile); Meiringer, IF. 16, 107 (with facsimile); v. Grienberger, IF. 11, 342; Hempl, Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc. 33, 150; — Zvetaieff, Inscr. Ital. Infer. Dialecticae, p. 80 (with facsimile); Lindsay's Latin Inscriptions, p. 19; Dessau, Inscript. Lat. Sel. II, p. 986 (with facsimile).

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ADDENDUM TO A. J. P. XXIX 205: I beg to note—as I did with a pen in the reprints I sent out—that German 'von Kindesbeinen (an)' is an apt illustration for ἐξ ἀπαλῶν ὀνύχων after it had sunk to the bald sense of 'a pueritia'.